1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

first came among these people in 1849. The women had a line on the chin and a small spot on the forehead tattooed by the medicine man, whom they paid roundly for the work. The chiefs only, of the men, were tattooed, and on one side, or one-half of the breast, or one arm and breast. This was part of the ceremony when they were elected or made chiefs. They call themselves by a word which signifies 'people of the east,' but claim that this refers only to the position they first occupied in the village."

Migrations—From North? "Tradition among these Indians gives no definite account of their migrations other than the movements of their villages on the Missouri river; not, of course, considering the myth of their subterranean origin at Devil's Lake, Dakota. The Cheyennes, who are clearer in their traditions than most tribes, claim that the Mandans came from the north. Mr. Donald Gunn, in his 'History of Manitoba,' says: 'The Crees who visited the trading posts on the shores of Hudson's Bay, and the Assiniboines, who traded in 1678 with Duluth at the west end of Lake Superior, were about the same time put in possession of firearms, and within a few years thereafter they seemed as if by mutual consent to have made a simultaneous movement, the former pressing on to the southwest, the latter pursuing their course to the northwest, until they met in the region west of Lake Winnipeg, and on the plains of Red and Assiniboine rivers. Indian tradition informs us that during the first half of the last century the Mandans occupied the country to the southwest of Lake Winnipeg, and that they had been forced by the united efforts of their invaders to leave their hunting grounds and retire to the upper Missouri. How long it took these tribes to drive out those whom they found in possession of the country, and what wars they carried on to accomplish that object, are lost in the mist of years. However, we have had the evidence of a living witness to the fact that the Crees and the Assiniboines lived on the plains southwest of Lake Winnipeg for some years previous to the year 1780, and that they made a preconcerted attack that year on the trading posts on the Assiniboine."

"I am inclined to think that this statement is in the main correct, but believe that the Mandans were driven out of this part of the country (adjacent to Lake Winnipeg) at an earlier date, for we find them located on the Missouri in 1772, with evidences of their having been there for many years." (P. 239.)

1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

•173 The foregoing is far from historic proof that the Mandans did not at the times mentioned have their real base on the Missouri river. If they had been driven out of the "plains southwest of Lake Winnipeg" southward to the Missouri river about the end of the 17th century, which plains had been their own country, it seems hardly possible that they would not have so informed Verendrye in 1738—less than half a century after such ejection; nor would they have been likely to have forgotten it as a fresh tradition when Lewis and Clarke visited them. But if they had been hunting or marauding on those Canadian plains, and had failed to make permanent lodgment there as a home while really living on the Missouri, such rebuffs by the Crees and Assiniboines would be less consequential and might account for silence on the part of the Mandans concerning their Canadian campaigns. We continue the account from "Indian Sign Language:"

"Information given to the late General William Clarke in his expedition up the Missouri denotes that the Mandans have suffered greater vicissitudes of fortune than most of the American tribes."

361 **Walled Villages.** About a century ago they were settled on both banks of the Missouri some fifteen hundred miles above its mouth. They were then living in mire villages, surrounded by circular walls of earth without the adjunct of a ditch. The ruins of one of the old villages, observed in 1804, covered nearly eight acres and denoted a comparatively large population. Two of these villages were on the east and seven on the west side of the Missouri. They were first discovered and made known to us in this position in 1772. (Mitchell's letter herewith.)

721 **Their Wars.** They appear to have been a hated tribe to the Dakotas, or Sioux, and Assiniboines, who from the earliest traditionary times carried on fierce war against them.

361 **Smallpox.** Finding themselves sorely pressed by this war and having experienced the wasting inroads of the smallpox the two 166 eastern villages united into one and migrated up the river to a [164] point opposite to the Arickaree, fourteen hundred and thirty miles above the mouth. The same causes soon pressed the other 721 seven western villages, reducing them to five; they also afterward migrated in a body and joined their tribesmen in the Arickaree country, and concentrated and settled themselves in two large villages. Here they dwelt for a time, but were still subject to

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

dan and Awatixa. The bundle was at Mitutanka before the smallpox epidemic of 1837 and was brought to Like-a-Fishhook Village by the lower group of Mandan when the village was built. Bobtail Bull and his wife were owners. He was killed July 13, 1850.[1]

BEARS ARM'S NARRATIVE OF THE SHELL ROBE BUNDLE

The bundle went from Bobtail Bull to his daughter, Good Ways, and to her husband named Big Foot Bull; thence to Wolf Ghost, Good Ways' brother. When Wolf Ghost was dying, he sent word to Montclair to come for the Holy Woman Robe to take home and keep. Montclair sent word back that he did not want to keep it in his lodge and to leave it in its place. It was left there after Wolf Ghost's death.[2]

The robe had its beginning in Yellow Dog's village and got over into the Mandan tribe by sale. The Mandan took the robe and passed it from generation to generation by father and mother to son or daughter and husband. Bobtail Bull passed it to Montclair through his daughters to their son, Montclair. In Montclair's early days he did not belong to the church and kept the robe as a protector. Later he turned it over to Wolf Ghost, his mother's brother, and joined the Congregational church.

After Wolf Ghost died, people would continue to go there and make offerings to the robe until it disappeared.

I learned the story from Poor Wolf, who got it from the old men. Poor Wolf said, "Whenever I want to learn a story, I make a feast and pay a man of my father's clan[3] to go to the old man and ask to hear the story. The old man would take the things and tell just how it all happened. I would sometimes forget something and have to go over it again, so I would go back to the old man and have him repeat it. By the third time I would have it thoroughly learned."

I would feed Poor Wolf and give him presents and have him come over to tell me the stories. I would always go to the man with the rights. Poor Wolf did not learn the story from the Mandan but from an Awaxawi who had bought the story from older people in his tribe, so the story is a little different from the way the Mandan tell it.

Poor Wolf said: "I made a feast and gave gifts to buy the right to know the stories, and, when I thought I forgot, I had them repeated three or four times. Even Ree have ceremonies of the same kind. I was adopted by the Ree and wanted to know the rites, so I told the man I wanted to know the meaning. The Ree sent all out, and then told me all about the Ceremony of Adoption."

At Like-a-Fishhook Village the people were few after the smallpox. The village was well fortified with hewn timber, and a bell had been put up. At certain times each morning the Black Mouth Society would ring the bell and open the gate to let the people out to the cornfields or for wood. They would work all day, and, when the bell rang, the people would come through the

1. *Journal of Rudolph Friedrich Kurz*, trans. Myrtis Jarrell; ed J. N. B. Hewitt (Bureau of American Ethnology Bull. 115 [Washington, 1937]), pp. 74–75.

2. Calf Woman said that the bundle belonged to the Prairie Chicken clan and that men married into this family line merely helped in the ceremonies.

3. This was the Hidatsa method.

2: Bowers E,5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

gate, and it would be tied up for the night. If any were left out and they came to the gate and were recognized, the gate would be opened for them. If an enemy came, he could not get in. 778 173●

Some Mandans named Bobtail Bull, Bad Gun, Standing Bear, Lean Bear, Sand, Dancing Flag, and a few others belonging to the Buffalo Society went to the southeast on a war expedition. They stopped at the small Mandan village, Nuptadi, where a few Mandan were still living. This was eighty-two or eighty-three years ago [from 1933]. A woman had a horse tied to a corn scaffold and was on top slicing squash. The war party went inside and sat down. An enemy Sioux came in, and they received him and gave him leggings, but, when he sat down, Bobtail Bull jumped up and killed the Sioux, who was named Bull Boy. Then the war party left. The Sioux came to the small Mandan village, but those people said that they had nothing to do with it; that it was done by the other Mandan living at Fishhook. The lower Mandan were the ones who had fought with the other Mandan and had not then united.[4]

The Sioux chased Bobtail Bull's party, and they ran into the woods near Mannhaven or Yellow Water. A Sioux called, "My friend; I am here," but the Mandan would not come out. In the night they made a raft and swam the woman's horse across and came back to Like-a-Fishhook Village. Since the village was fortified, they could not get in until morning when the bell was rung. They painted their faces black and ran through the village with their scalp.

Sometime afterward, Bobtail Bull had a dream from this Holy Woman Robe. The robe said to him, "I am bringing you a warning. You will not be permitted to go out anywhere during the summer. You must stay in the village and not go out hunting or on the warpath until the first snow comes. Then you will be out of danger."

Bobtail Bull called in his war party and some of the old men and told them this. He said, "My robe has told me to stay in the village during the summer season. There is danger ahead for me, and I am not allowed to go outside of the fortification."

The men said, "That is all right. It is good that your robe has warned you."

During the summer he stayed inside of the village and out of sight in his lodge. The people coming back from their travels reported many wild turnips and thought the people should go out to dig them. After Bull Boy was killed, whenever the Sioux made a fire, they would put a stone in the fire and name it Bobtail Bull so that it would mean he was to die if the stone snapped. All this time the Holy Woman tried to keep it from cracking, but she said to Bobtail Bull in a dream, "Do not go out today. I have worked for you, but the Sioux will have luck if you leave the village, for now I am getting tired and feel weak."

He told his wives this, but one was part Sioux, and she must have been helping her people. He dressed up, and his friends asked him why he was dressed up to dig turnips. He related what his medicine had told him. Since his wife wanted him to go so badly, he was going to try it. His wife had insisted that they would be near the village. They went three miles east of the village. The women said, "You ride around and find them, and we will dig them."

While he was looking for the wild turnips, they came near the Badlands

4. This division referred to by Bears Arm occurred in 1820. He explained that the group moved to Birds Bill Butte south of Mandan and did not return until 1823, when they settled near Mitutanka Village.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

where the Sioux were hiding. The Sioux rushed out, and a shot broke Bobtail Bull's leg above the ankle, and he said, "I am Bobtail Bull." He shot several with his arrows but in turn was hit in the chest with a bullet and died. The Sioux who killed him named himself Bobtail Bull.

Because Bobtail Bull killed the enemy at the small Mandan village, these people were obliged to come to Like-a-Fishhook Village for protection.

There is a slight variation in the myth between villages. This was determined by ascertaining the villages the various family lines had resided in. There were two distinct Mandan versions and one Hidatsa version. Several accounts were recorded of which three representative versions are given. They are: (1) Mitutanka version, supplied by Mrs. Owen Baker, granddaughter of Bobtail Bull; (2) Nuptadi version, narrated by Ben Benson; and (3) Hidatsa version, related by Bears Arm.[5]

MITUTANKA SHELL ROBE BUNDLE MYTH RELATED BY MRS. OWEN BAKER[6]

She was a Mandan. The people went to a winter camp, coming from the Heart River. They were at the place where they dig paint near the Little Missouri. It was east of where the road crosses north of Killdeer. This place was called "Where they dig paint." They were traveling along slowly, for they had dogs. The girl and her brother got lost. Though the children were missing, the people could find no trace of them. The two children built a lodge shaped like the eagle-trapping lodge. When they had finished, they were hungry, so they looked around. They found rose berries and wild turnips. They dug a cellar and put them away for the winter.

In a short time, the sister found a friend who stayed at home all the time, but the sister rarely stayed at home. She brought in elk, deer, and many kinds of meat. One day the boy brought in an elkhide. The women tanned the hide and made a robe of it. When they finished, they pasted clam shells to it. They painted the morning star on the middle of the robe.

She said, "Leave a space where I can put something on the left side for Corn Tassel." (The Awatixa call her Red Feather.)

Her brother did not know what it all meant, so he worried about it. After he had eaten, he would lie down to worry.

The two women tanned hides for their robes and dresses. The sister did not like the place and thought it was not a good place to live, so she left the place and went to Big Timber. There she built a large lodge and had all the mysterious holy women help her. They lived there a few years. When she was away, the brother would hear a strange noise while hunting and wondered what it was, but he was never able to get the answer. One day when she was gone, his other sister told him that his sister (Feather on Head) was after him.

She said, "Did you hear a noise? That is your sister. She flies into the skies and fights there. She is trying to take your life. I will try to help you out so you will be safe. When you go hunting, if you kill an elk or buffalo, cut the meat and hide up into small pieces and throw it around where you butchered."

5. This version was from Awatixa Village of the Hidatsa tribe.
6. For the Nuptadi and Awatixa versions see Appendix II.

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buying subsidiary rights until, when reaching maturity, he had full knowledge of the ceremony. The teaching of a ceremony by sections characterized the entire ceremonial pattern of the Mandan and constitutes one of the major differences between Mandan and Hidatsa ceremonial training, the latter tribe giving the instruction in its entirety at the time of bundle sale.

The Mandan believed that the Okipa began as a simple buffalo dance at a time when the tribe was small and life was simple and that the ceremony grew in complexity as the tribe increased in numbers and complexity. Crows Heart explained that, as new tribal bundles were added, additional impersonators were added for the "Everything Comes Back Day." The changes instituted since the ceremony was described by Catlin and Maximilian were insignificant. The number of singers was reduced to three, and the torture feature was performed outside the ceremonial lodge.

It is significant to note that, in spite of the prominent place of agriculture in the Mandan economic life, little recognition was given to agriculture in the "Everything Comes Back Day" of this important ceremony. The Old Woman Who Never Dies was represented together with other holy women by two men dressed as women, and those of one moiety rubbed their wounds with corn meal. Otherwise, little recognition was given to agriculture.

The importance of mythology in Mandan ceremonialism should not be minimized.[1] Left to his own resources in describing a ceremony, a Mandan informant invariably introduced the subject by first relating the myth. These myths explain the peculiar topography of the Mandan country with lakes and sloughs to the east, badlands and streams to the west, and the Missouri River dividing the two. These sacred myths even explain the creation of the white men and their cattle on the east bank of the Missouri River, where, in mythological times, they were found to be too weak to survive and were sent back across the ocean. When the writer showed Bear on the Flat fossilized clam shells and wood in coal-bearing beds, he immediately explained their presence in terms of the flood sent by Maniga to

1. Lowie writes: "Several Plains tribes—notably the Hidatsa, Blackfoot, and Arapaho—utilize widespread tales to account for the origin of rituals" (Robert H. Lowie, *Myths and Traditions of the Crow Indians* ["Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XXV], p. 8).

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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SECTION I.

HISTORY, LIFE AND CUSTOMS.

ORIGIN:— From the previously mentioned historical sources an attempt will now be made to give a brief account of the Mandans as they were seen by travellers. First, however, comes the discussion of their origin and migration, for the most part theoretical, but supported to some extent by evidence. The Mandans had a tradition of coming out of the earth, nothing unusual in itself, but in relating this story they also told Maximilian that they came from the east out of the earth and struck the Missouri at the White Earth River in South Dakota. The eastern origin corresponds with that of the rest of the Siouan stock to which the Mandans, both linguistically and to a considerable extent in their culture, belong. The Ohio valley would seem to have served as a point of dispersal whence the Plains members of the Siouan stock are supposed to have moved in four successive migrations. The earliest group to leave consisted apparently of the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Crow, and of these the Mandan were probably a number of years ahead of the other tribes. The Mandans have fairly vivid traditions of the coming of the Hidatsa many years after the former had established fixed villages on the Heart River.

They describe[1] the Hidatsa as a wild wandering people whom they taught to build stationary villages and to raise corn, pumpkins and other vegetables, and who soon moved up to the Knife River. If this tradition has any truth in it, it seems to establish the Mandans as the first nation in the successive Siouan migrations. The order of migration is placed as follows:—

1. Mandan, Hidatsa, Crow.
2. Iowa, Otoe, Missouri, Winnebago.
3. Omaha, Ponca, Osage, Kansas, Kwapa.
4. Dakota, Assiniboine.

[1] Maximilian: p. 435.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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Island in South Dakota and was told by traders that there were a number of others about that country. Maximilian was told that the Mandans first touched the Missouri at White Earth River in South Dakota, with which might be connected the reported existence of the remains of circular earth lodges in southern Wisconsin. Here are arguments for both theories; up to the present, however, the matter must remain unsettled until some careful investigation decides it.

HISTORY:—In the earliest historical accounts the Mandans were firmly established in stationary villages in the neighborhood of the Heart River. Verendrye says that they lived in six large villages along the Mandan River, were a large and powerful nation and feared none of their neighbors, all of whom they dominated by their superior culture. Their manufactures were almost necessities among the other tribes, and in trade they were able to dictate their own terms. The forts he said were impregnable to Indians, being very well fortified. Verendrye visited the smallest village in which he said that there were one hundred and thirty houses by actual count. His son, who visited one of the larger villages, declared that it was twice as large, judging from which it can safely be assumed that there were at least one thousand houses in the several villages. Lewis and Clarke declared that in the two villages of one hundred huts there were three hundred and fifty warriors; figuring at this rate there should have been at least fifteen thousand Mandans in 1738 dwelling prosperously in large and well-fortified towns.

For the next sixty-six years there is little information but their own tradition. Judging from McKenzie's narrative they continued prosperous and powerful up to 1772 at least. He declared that at that time they lived in nine villages, large and near to each other, and could muster fifteen thousand warriors. The latter estimate is probably large, but the whole statement seems to show that no misfortune had come to them at that date. Their remaining history is summed up in their own tradition as related to Lewis and Clarke, Maximilian and others.

This tradition runs as follows:—Formerly they lived happily and prosperously in nine large villages on the Missouri near the mouth of the Heart River. Six or seven of these vil-

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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lages were on the west side and two or three were on the east side of the river. Maximilian gives names for fourteen villages which have been already quoted. For a great many years they lived there when one day the smallpox came to those on the east side of the river. While this smallpox was still rife, the Sioux attacked and destroyed the east villages. The survivors then proceeded up the river some forty miles where they all settled in one large village. Soon after the smallpox reduced the villages on the west to five, and still later the five went up to where the others were in the neighborhood of some Arikara, and settled in two villages. A great many people had been destroyed and they were now no longer strong and fearless. They made an alliance with the Arikara against the Sioux. So far the tradition is our only authority, and all this had happened before the year 1796.

In Henry and Schoolcraft is the statement that in 1796 the two villages on the south united, and both the one on the south and the one on the north moved up river some distance. From this time on there is a nearly continuous chronicle. Lewis and Clarke found the two villages one on each side and about fifteen miles below the Knife River. At that time both villages consisted of forty to fifty lodges and, united, could raise about three hundred and fifty men. Lewis and Clarke describe them as engaging in continual warfare with the Arikara and Sioux against whom they united with the Hidatsa. The description given by Lewis and Clarke agrees with the conditions some two years later when Henry visited them.

Thereafter no particular event marks the history of the Mandans for some years. The Arikara went up and lived near them again for a time, but soon went back to the Grand River. Catlin found them in practically the condition in which Lewis and Clarke saw them, and so did Maximilian. Maximilian says they still lived in the two villages; the largest on the south side was Mih-toutta-Hangkouche and consisted of about sixty lodges. The smaller one, Rouhptare, was on the north and consisted of thirty-eight lodges. The villages were still fortified, though poorly, and there had been little change in the condition of the people.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

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At the time that the first man had incensed the Whites by his voracity, the latter made the water rise so high that all the land was overflowed. On this, the first man advised the ancestors of the Numangkake to build a wooden tower, or fort, upon an eminence, assuring them that the water would not rise higher than that point. They followed his advice, and built the ark, on the lower side of Heart River, on a large scale, and a part of the nation was preserved in this building, while the remainder perished in the waves. In remembrance of the kind care of the first man, they placed in each of their villages a miniature model of this ark, one of which still exists in the village of Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush. The waters afterwards subsided, and they still celebrate the festival of Okippe in honour of this ark, of which we shall have to speak in the sequel.

Before the first great deluge, the Numangkake lived below ground, but a band of them (the same of which we have been speaking) took up their abode above ground at an earlier period. They believe that there are four stories below ground, and as many above, and they now inhabit the fourth from below. The band which first came above ground is called by them Histoppe (those with the tattooed countenance), and these, for the most part, perished in the great deluge. Those who lived under ground one day perceived a light over their heads, which made them desire to ascertain what was above. They accordingly sent up a mouse, which looked about, returned, and reported that the land above was similar to that which they inhabited. They then sent up a certain animal, called by them, Nahui, about the size of a polecat, and distinguishable by black stripes on its face and legs. Perhaps this was the racoon, which is not now to be found in this part of the country. This animal, when he came back, said that it was much more pleasant above than below. They, therefore, ordered the badger to dig a larger opening, as the present issue was too small. After the badger had performed his task, the black-tailed deer was ordered to go up and enlarge the opening by means of his horns. He ran about the whole day, ate service berries, and returned in the evening. His tail was at that time white, but as this deer returned at sunset, and the sun went down at the very moment when his tail only was above ground, that was ever afterwards black.

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The Numangkake now resolved to go up. The great chief, with his medicine and his schischikué in his hand, went first. They climbed up, one after another, by the aid of a branch of a vine; and when exactly half their number had ascended, and a corpulent woman was half-way up the vine, it broke, and the remainder of the nation fell to the ground. This happened in the neighbourhood of the sea-shore. Those who had reached the surface went on till they came to the Missouri, which they reached at White Earth River. They then proceeded up the Missouri to Moreau's River. At that time they knew nothing of enemies. Once, when a Mandan woman was scraping a hide, a Cheyenne Indian came and killed her. The Mandans followed the traces of this new enemy till they came to a certain river, where they all turned

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back with the exception of two, the husband and the brother of the woman who was killed. These two men went on till they discovered the enemy, killed one of them, and took his scalp with them. Before they got back to their village they found some white clay which they had never seen before, and took a portion of it with them. When they came to their great chief, the first who had climbed up the vine, and whose skull and schischikué they still preserve, as a relic, in the medicine bag of the nation, they gave him the white clay, with which he marked some lines on his schischikué. The name of this chief was, at first, Mihti-Pihka (the smoke of the village), but when he ascended to the surface of the earth he called himself the Mihti-Shi (the robe with the beautiful hair). When he had received the clay and the scalp, he commanded all his people to shoot buffaloes, but only bulls, and to make shields of the thickest part of the hide, which they did. When this was done, they asked the chief what were his next commands? To which he replied, "Paint a drooping sunflower on this shield" (as a sort of medicine, or amulet), on which the sister of the chief said, "You are fools! paint a bean on it; for what is smoother than a bean to ward off the arrows?"

The chief now introduced the establishment of the bands or unions, and founded first that of "the foolish dogs." He made four caps of crow's feathers, and commissioned the Mandans to make a number of similar ones. He then gave them the war pipe and song, and exhorted them to be always valiant and cheerful, and never to retreat before the point of the arrow. He also gave them the strips of red cloth which hang down behind, and added that, if they would follow his directions, they would always be esteemed as brave and worthy men. The chief then made two of the bent sticks covered with otter skins, and gave them the kana-karakachka, and then two others adorned with raven's feathers, which he also presented to them. The first represent the sunflower, and the latter the maize. "These badges," said he, "you are to carry before you when you go against the enemy; plant them in the ground, and fight to the last man, that is to say, never abandon them." He next founded the band of "the little foolish dogs," and assembled many young men, whom he ordered to paint their faces of a black colour, and gave them a song of their own, with the war whoop at the end, and said he would call them "the blackbirds." He afterwards went to war with his people against the Chayennes. They reached the enemy and laid all their robes in a heap together. The chief wore a cap of lynx skin, and had his medicine pipe on his arm. He did not join in the action, but sat apart on the ground during the whole time that it lasted. They fought almost the whole day, drove the enemy into their village, and were then repulsed, which happened three or four times, and one of the Numangkake was killed. When the chief was informed of this, he ordered them to go to the river and bring him a young poplar with large leaves, which he planted in the ground near to the enemy, and challenged the Chayennes to attack him; but they answered, they would wait for his attack. As

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he would commence the combat, the enemy shot at him, but their arrows only grazed his arm and robe. He then held up the poplar, which suddenly shot up to a colossal size, was thrown, by a violent storm which arose, among the enemies, crushed many of them, and obliged the Chayennes to retreat across the Missouri.

The Numangkake now went up the Missouri to beyond the Heart River, where a Mandan village had long stood. An old man of their tribe was fishing at this place, when four men appeared on the opposite bank. On his inquiring who they were, they told him their names, and put the same question to him, which he answered; and, having an ear of maize with him, he fastened it to an arrow, and shot it over to the strangers. Finding the maize very agreeable to the taste, they called to him and said that, within four nights, a great many men would come, for whom he would do well to prepare plenty of food. They then returned to their camp, and gave their countrymen an account of the maize. They had likewise tasted the pomme blanche, and several other vegetables, but considered the maize as the best of all. The camp was accordingly broken up, and they proceeded slowly onwards. The Numangkake expected the strangers for four nights; they cooked and made everything ready for their reception, but, as their visitors did not make their appearance at the end of the fourth night, they ate the provisions themselves. A year passed by, and the strangers did not come; the second and the third year likewise; at length, in the spring of the fourth year, all the surrounding hills were covered with red men. Thus, instead of four days, four years had elapsed. The new comers crossed the river, and built a village near the Numangkake, and the name of Manitaries was given, *i. e.*, those who came over the waters.

The principal chief of each nation met, and had a conference together. The Manitari chief asked the other whence they procured so much red maize? To which he replied, "When we fought with our enemies, and they killed our wives and children in the maize fields, the maize grew up, and was for the most part red." To which the Manitari chief replied, "that he would assist them with his people against their enemies." Already on the following day many Chayennes came and killed a number of women in the plantations; the united nations attacked them, killed many during the whole day, and drove them back to a small river which falls into the Missouri. The two allied nations now remained united, but, being so numerous that the country did not afford them sufficient subsistence, the Mandans said to the Manitaries, "Remove higher up the Missouri: this whole country belongs to us. There are the rivers Little Missouri, Yellow Stone, and Knife River, on the banks of which you can settle, but do not go beyond the later river, for it is only in this case that we shall remain good friends. If you go too far we shall have disputes, make peace and again disagree; but if you remain on this side there will be constant friendship between us." The Manitaries removed as proposed, but built

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one of their villages on the other side of Knife River, which frequently occasioned dissension between them, and it is only within these fourteen years that permanent peace and concord have existed between the two people.

At the time when our narrator was a young man, the Arikkaras were near and dangerous enemies to the Mandans. They often fought with them as well as with the Sioux. When one of the two allied nations fought alone, it was almost always defeated, but when they were combined they generally triumphed. The preceding long narrative throws, as I have said, much light on the actual condition of this people, and of their prevalent superstitious customs.

At the time of their first alliance with the Manitaries, the Mandans are said to have inhabited eight or nine villages on the two banks of the Missouri, on the Heart River, and higher upwards. Subsequently a great number of the Mandans were carried off by the small-pox, and their enemies, the Sioux, entirely destroyed their largest village, and massacred the inhabitants. The remaining population then collected in the two villages that still exist—Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush and Ruhptare. Plate XVI. is a view of Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, of which a ground plan will be found at the end of this chapter. Previously to the devastations of the small-pox, the Sioux were not very dangerous enemies to the Mandans, because they lived at too great a distance from them, but the Chayennes and the Arikkaras were their natural adversaries. I shall now proceed to treat of the religious and superstitious practices which still prevail among them.

These Indians are full of prejudice and superstition, and connect all the natural phenomena with the before-mentioned silly creations of their own imaginations. They undertake nothing without first invoking their guardian spirit, or medicine, who mostly appears to them in a dream. When they wish to choose their medicine or guardian spirit, they fast for three or four days, and even longer, retire to a solitary spot, do penance, and even sacrifice joints of their fingers; howl and cry to the lord of life, or to the first man, beseeching him to point out their guardian spirit. They continue in this excited state till they dream, and the first animal or other object which appears to them is chosen for their guardian spirit or medicine. Every man has his guardian spirit. There is, in the prairie, a large hill where they remain motionless many days, lamenting and fasting; not far from this hill is a cave, into which they creep at night. The choice and adoration of their medicine are said to have been taught them by the strange man or spirit who appeared in their villages many years ago, and has not since been seen, and of whom mention has already been made by the name of Ochkih-Hadda. He is said also to have taught them the art of tattooing, and to have instituted their medicine feasts. In all natural phenomena, which are not of daily occurrence, they see wonders, and indications of favourable or unfavourable events. If the falling stars are numerous, or in a certain direction, it is to them an indication of war, or of a great mortality in the human race. They were not willing to have their portraits painted, because they alleged that they should soon die if their portraits came into other hands;

at least they endeavoured to obtain the portrait of the painter as an antidote.